

Message Text

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FOR TARNOFF AND LAKE FROM ANDERSON

E.O. 11652:N.A.

TAGS: OGEN

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S STATEMENT

--

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECRETARY'S OPENING STATEMENT
BEFORE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, JUNE 19.
2. BEGIN TEXT: I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH
YOU ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT TO ADDRESS THE CONCERNS
THAT MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE EXPRESSED IN THEIR LETTER
TO THE PRESIDENT.

THERE IS PERHAPS NO MORE IMPORTANT QUESTION ON WHICH WE
MUST CONSULT THAN THE ENTIRE RANGE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS.
I USE THE WORD "RANGE" ADVISEDLY. FOR IT IS VERY IMPORTANT
AS WE DEAL WITH THESE CRITICAL ISSUES THAT WE RECOGNIZE
A FUNDAMENTAL REALITY OF THIS RELATIONSHIP: THAT IT IS
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NOT A RELATIONSHIP WITH A SINGLE DIMENSION, BUT WITH MANY;
THAT EVEN AS WE HAVE SHARP DIFFERENCES, AS WE INEVITABLY
WILL, THERE ARE MANY OTHER AREAS IN WHICH WE CONTINUE TO
COOPERATE AND TO SEEK USEFUL AGREEMENT; AND THAT TO VIEW
US-SOVIET RELATIONS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A SINGLE
DIMENSION IS TO RUN THE RISK OF FAILING TO IDENTIFY OUR
INTERESTS CAREFULLY AND TO ACT ACCORDINGLY.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT ANNAPOLIS DESCRIBED THIS APPROACH.
IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD, I HOPE THAT YOU WILL HELP

US IN EXPLAINING THIS COMPLEX REALITY SO THAT WE AVOID
EXCESSIVE SWINGS IN PUBLIC MOOD FROM UNREALISTIC OPTIMISM
TO UNWARRANTED PESSIMISM.

AS THE PRESIDENT SAID AT ANNAPOLIS, THE SOVIET ARMS BUILD-
UP IS EXCESSIVE, BOTH IN CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
YET THE EXTRAORDINARY STRENGTHS WE POSSESS AS A NATION --
MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL -- ENABLE US TO FIX AND
HOLD OUR OWN COURSE.

THE POTENTIAL WE AND THE SOVIETS SHARE FOR MUTUAL
ANNIHILATION CARRIES ITS OWN IMPERATIVES FOR US BOTH:
WE MUST SEEK TO REDUCE THE RISKS OF CONFRONTATION, PARTI-
CULARLY THE RISKS PRESENTED BY AN UNCONTROLLED NUCLEAR
ARMS RACE; TO WORK TO MODERATE OUR DIFFERENCES AND TO SEEK
TO EXPAND OTHER AREAS OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION.

AS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS CONTINUES TO
EVOLVE, BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUOUSLY BE MAKING CHOICES
BETWEEN AN EMPHASIS ON THE DIVERGENT ELEMENTS OF OUR
RELATIONSHIP, AND AN EMPHASIS ON THE COOPERATIVE ONES.
THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR AT ANNAPOLIS THAT OUR PREFERENCE
IS TO BROADEN THE AREAS OF COOPERATION.

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WE SEEK PEACEFUL AND FAIR RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFLICTS
BETWEEN AND WITHIN THE NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD.

WE SEEK BALANCED AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ARMS CONTROL.

WE SEEK TO BROADEN THE REALM OF SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL
AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE.

WE SEEK TO ENHANCE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR CITIZENS,
OUR BUSINESS LEADERS, OUR DIPLOMATS AND OTHER OFFICIALS,
TO TRAVEL AND CONDUCT LEGITIMATE ACTIVITIES IN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES.

WE SEEK TO INCREASE OUR COLLABORATION WITH THE SOVIET
UNION, BUT ALSO WITH THE EMERGING NATIONS, WITH THE
COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA.

IN SHORT, AS THE PRESIDENT SAID AT ANNAPOLIS, 'E SEEK TO
EMPHASIZE THE WORK OF PEACE. BUT OBVIOUSLY, DETENTE IS A
TWO-WAY STREET; THE FUTURE COURSE OF OUR RELATIONS WILL
DEPEND ALSO UPON THE CHOICES MADE IN MOSCOU.

LET ME DISCUSS THE ELEMENTS OF OUR POLICY TOWARD THE
SOVIET UNION THAT THE PRESIDENT SET FORTH AT ANNAPOLIS.

OUR STRATEGY IS BASED FIRST ON MAINTAINING OUR MILITARY,
ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL STRENGTHS.

OUR SECURITY AND THAT OF OUR ALLIES CONTINUES TO DEPEND
ON OUR ABILITY TO MEET ANY MILITARY THREAT WE FACE.
NEITHER WE NOR THE SOVIETS SHOULD ENTERTAIN THE NOTION
THAT MILITARY SUPREMACY CAN BE ATTAINED. BUT WE MUST AND
WILL MAINTAIN A STRONG DEFENSE THAT SERVES AS A CREDIBLE
DETERRENT TO ANY POTENTIAL ADVERSARY.
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TO SAFEGUARD THIS DETERRENT, WE ARE ENGAGED IN A
COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO MODERNIZE OUR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR
FORCES. AND IN THE AREA OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, WHILE
WE NEGOTIATE TO REDUCE -- THROUGH MUTUAL AND BALANCED
ACTIONS -- THE LEVEL OF FORCES AMASSED IN EUROPE, WE ARE
MEETING THE CHALLENGE POSED BY THE SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET
BUILD-UP THERE. AT THE RECENT NATO SUMMIT HERE IN
WASHINGTON, WE AND OUR NATO PARTNERS APPROVED A LONG-TERM
DEFENSE PROGRAM -- AND UNPRECEDENTED EFFORT TO ANTICIPATE
OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY NEEDS FOR THE 1980'S AND TO UNDER-
TAKE A COMPREHENSIVE AND COORDINATED PROGRAM TO MEET
THOSE NEEDS. OUR COMMITMENT TO A 3 PERCENT REAL GROWTH
RATE IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES FOR NATO REFLECTS THE
PRIORITY WE ARE GIVING TO STRENGTHENING AND MODERNIZING
ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITIES.

EVEN AS WE MAINTAIN A SOUND DEFENSE POSTURE -- IN EUROPE,
IN THE PACIFIC AND IN OTHER AREAS WHERE OUR VITAL
INTERESTS AND THOSE OF OUR ALLIES ARE AT STAKE -- WE
ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT OUR STRENGTH IN THE WORLD DOES NOT
REST ON OUR MILITARY POWER ALONE. IT IS BASED AS WELL ON
THE FACT THAT OUR ECONOMY IS THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD,
WITH AN UNPARALLELED INDUSTRIAL BASE AND AN ENORMOUS
RESERVOIR OF TECHNOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE AND ABILITY.
REMAINING STRONG ALSO INVOLVES PUTTING OUR ECONOMIC HOUSE
IN ORDER, BY CONTROLLING INFLATION AND BY IMPLEMENTING A
COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY POLICY.

OUR STRENGTH IS ALSO BASED ON THE VITALITY OF OUR
ALLIANCES, AND WE ARE BROADENING OUR JOINT EFFORTS FOR
MUTUAL AND SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH AND FOR DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAMS FOR THE THIRD WORLD, AS WELL AS DEFENSE
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COOPERATION.

FINALLY, THE BEDROCK OF OUR STRENGTH IS OUR HERITAGE

AS A FREE NATION, OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND WHAT WE STAND FOR AS A PEOPLE. OUR IDEALS ARE THE MOST POWERFUL IN THE WORLD.

AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS: "BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE." WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE THE MIX OF BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DIPLOMACY THAT, IN OUR JUDGMENT, WILL BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN HELPING TO FOSTER RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION. ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION VIOLATE NOT ONLY THE UN DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT ARE SHARPLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT.

OUR STRENGTHS GIVE US GREAT CONFIDENCE IN OUR FUTURE. FROM THIS FOUNDATION, WE CAN SEEK TO REDUCE THE DANGERS OF UNCONTROLLED MILITARY COMPETITION THROUGH EFFECTIVE AND SENSIBLE ARMS CONTROL. THUS, THE SECOND ELEMENT OF OUR POLICY IS TO PURSUE AREAS OF NEGOTIATION WHICH ARE VITAL TO PEACE AND TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

AS THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR AT ANNAPOLIS, WE WILL PERSIST IN OUR EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A SOUND SALT II AGREEMENT. WHEN WE REACH AN AGREEMENT THAT MAINTAINS AND ENHANCES OUR SECURITY AND THAT OF OUR ALLIES, AND IS ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE, WE WILL SIGN IT.

A CLEAR-EYED ASSESSMENT OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS ALSO COMPELS US TO PURSUE OTHER ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS DIRECTED TOWARD CONTROLLING THE DANGEROUS MILITARY COMPETITION BETWEEN US: TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN; REDUCING CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO OTHER COUNTRIES; PROHIBITING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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ATTACKS ON SATELLITES; STABILIZING THE LEVEL OF FORCES DEPLOYED IN THE INDIAN OCEAN; AND NEGOTIATING MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE. WE ARE PROCEEDING IN EACH OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CARE AND DELIBERATION, PREPARED TO TAKE WHATEVER TIME IS NECESSARY, AND MINDFUL THAT THE FURTHERANCE OF NATIONAL SECURITY MUST BE THE CRITICAL TEST WHICH ANY AGREEMENT MUST MEET.

WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS, THERE HAS APPEARED A LENGTHY ARTICLE IN "PRAVDA" WHICH WE ARE STUDYING WITH CAREFUL ATTENTION. I WOULD ONLY SAY AT THIS TIME THAT THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE FOR BOTH COUNTRIES AS WE MOVE AHEAD WOULD BE TO CONCENTRATE ON THE CONCRETE ACTIONS WE BOTH CAN TAKE TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES NOW UNDER NEGOTIATION.

THE THIRD ELEMENT OF US RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION INVOLVES OUR MUTUAL CONDUCT IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD. WHILE THIS IS A GLOBAL PROBLEM, I WILL ADDRESS IT IN ITS AFRICAN CONTEXT, WHERE INTEREST IS PRESENTLY FOCUSED.

THE RECENT INTRODUCTION OF LARGE QUANTITIES OF SOVIET ARMS AND THOUSANDS OF CUBAN TROOPS IN CERTAIN PARTS OF AFRICA RAISES SERIOUS CONCERNS. THE SIZE AND DURATION OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE JEOPARDIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN STATES. IT CREATES CONCERN ON THE PART OF AFRICAN NATIONS THAT OUTSIDE WEAPONS AND TROOPS WILL BE USED TO DETERMINE THE OUTCOME OF ANY DISPUTE ON THE CONTINENT. AND IT RENDERS MORE DIFFICULT THE EFFORTS OF AFRICANS TO RESOLVE THESE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

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AS I PLAN TO INDICATE TOMORROW IN A SPEECH ON OUR AFRICAN POLICIES, OUR STRATEGY IS BASED UPON AN AFFIRMATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO AFRICAN ISSUES -- HELPING AFRICAN NATIONS MEET THEIR PRESSING HUMAN AND ECONOMIC NEEDS, STRENGTHENING THEIR ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, BUILDING CLOSER TIES THROUGHOUT AFRICA, AND ASSISTING AFRICAN NATIONS TO RESOLVE THEIR CONFLICTS PEACEFULLY.

WE ARE PROCEEDING IN SEVERAL WAYS:

-- WE HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA AND HOPE TO BE ABLE TO INCREASE OUR ASSISTANCE FURTHER TO DEAL WITH THE SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THAT CONTINENT. --

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES IN AFRICA BECAUSE WE SEEK TO AVOID BLOODSHED AND ALSO TO AVERT SITUATIONS WHICH LEND THEMSELVES TO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. WE WOULD WELCOME SOVIET HELP -- WHICH WE REGRET WE HAVE NOT HAD -- IN ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA.

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO RESPECT THE GROWING SPIRIT OF AFRICAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE BECAUSE IT IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN NATION-BUILDING AND BECAUSE -- HAVING FOUGHT LONG AND HARD TO BE FREE -- AFRICANS SHARE AN INTENSE RESISTANCE TO OUTSIDE DOMINATION.

-- IT HAS BEEN OUR POLICY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO CONSIDER SYMPATHETICALLY SECURITY

REQUESTS FROM AFRICAN NATIONS WITH LEGITIMATE DEFENSE
NEEDS. ANY INCREASE IN AMERICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL
BE DONE PRUDENTLY AND WILL BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY
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THAT ARMS TRANSFERS TO AFRICA TAKE PLACE ONLY IN
EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

-- IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, WE HAVE EMPHASIZED OUR STRONG
CONCERN ABOUT THE NATURE OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA
AND WE HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, ARAB
AND AFRICAN NATIONS AND MEMBERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED
MOVEMENT WHO SHARE OUR CONCERN.

-- FINALLY, WE WILL RELY ON OUR LONG-TERM STRENGTHS IN
AFRICA DEVELOPED OVER THE YEARS OF TRADE, AID, INVESTMENT,
AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE. THESE RELATIONSHIPS BIND US TO
AFRICA IN ENDURING AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL WAYS.

THIS STRATEGY REPRESENTS A SOUND AND POSITIVE APPROACH
TO AFRICAN REALITIES. LET ME EMPHASIZE THE ESSENTIAL
POINT THAT THE BASIS FOR OUR POSITION IN AFRICA -- A
POSITION WHICH IS STRONG AND GROWING STRONGER -- IS THE
AFRICAN PERCEPTION THAT WE SEE THEM AND THEIR PROBLEMS IN
THEIR OWN TERMS, AND NOT AS AN ARENA FOR EAST-WEST
DIFFERENCES.

WE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT WE HAVE
CONSTRUCTED A SOLID POLITICAL BASE IN AFRICA OVER THE
LAST TWO YEARS AS A RESULT OF OUR POLICIES. OUR RELATIONS
WITH THE NATIONS OF AFRICA ARE BETTER TODAY THAN THEY
HAVE BEEN IN MANY YEARS.

I HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE. IF WE PERSIST
ON OUR COURSE, SECURE IN OUR STRENGTH AND STEADFAST IN
OUR DETERMINATION TO RESOLVE DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS,
AMERICANS CAN LIVE IN A SAFER AND MORE STABLE WORLD.

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I LOOK FORWARD TO ANSWERING YOUR QUESTIONS AND TO
DISCUSSING THESE AND OTHER ISSUES BOTH IN OPEN AND
EXECUTIVE SESSION. END TEXT.

3. EXECUTIVE SESSION STATEMENT BY SECRETARY FOLLOWS
SEPTTEL. VANCE

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